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In the followving

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OR

COLLOQVY,

Discovereth unto the World the chiefe Causes of the sad Distempers in Great *Brittany*, and *Ireland*.

Deduced from their Originals.

Magna est veritas, & prevalebit.

OXFORD,
Printed by LEONARD LICHFIELD,
Printer to the Vniversitie.
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AN INTERLOCVTORY DISCOVRSE

Betwixt *Patricius* & *Peregrin*, touching the *Diſtractions* of the *Times*, with the *Cauſes* of them.

Patricius.

GEntle Sir, you are well met, and welcome to *England*, I am heartily glad of your ſafe arrivall, hoping now to apprehend ſome happie opportunity whereby I may requite part of thoſe worthy favours I received from you in divers places t'other ſide of the Sea.

Peregrin. Sir, I am as joyfull to ſee you, as any friend I have upon the ſurface of the earth; but touching favours, they deſerve not ſuch an acknowledgement, I muſt confeſſe my ſelf to be farre in the arreare to you, therefore you teach me what to ſpeak in that point: But amongſt other offices of friendſhip you have bin pleaſed

to do me from time to time, I give you many thanks for the faithfull correſpondence you have held with me ſince the time of our ſeparation by interconrſe of letters, the *beſt ſort of fuell to warm affection and to keep life in that noble vertue Friendſhip* which they ſay abroad, is in danger to periſh under this cold *Inſulary* clime for want of practiſe.

Patr. Truely, Sir, you ſhould have had an account of matters hence more amply and frequently, but that of late it hath been uſuall, and allowed by authority, to intercept and breake open any letters; but private men need not complaine ſo much, ſince the diſpatches of Ambaſſadors, whoſe packets ſhould be held as ſacred as their perſons, have been commonly open'd, beſides ſome outrages offered their houſes and ſervants; nay, ſince their Majeſties Letters under the cabine Signet have beene broke up, and other counterfeit ones printed and publiſhed in their names.

Pereg. Indeed I muſt confeſſe the report hereof hath kept a great noyſe abroad; and *England* hath ſuffered much in point of nationall repute in this patticular; for even among *Barbarians* it is held a kinde of ſacriledge to open Letters; nay, it is held a baſer kinde of burglary, then to break into a Houſe, Chamber, or Cloſet: for this is a plundring of outward things onely, but hee who breakes open ones Letters, which are the *Idea's* of the mind, may be ſaid to rip up his breſt, to plunder and rifle his very braine, and rob him of his moſt pretious and ſecretſt thoughts.

Patr. Well, let us leave this diſtaſtefull ſubject, when theſe fatall commotions ceaſe, this cuſtome, I hope, will be abhorred in *England*: But now, that you are newly arrived, and ſo happily met, I pray be pleaſed to make me partaker of ſome forraigne newes, and how the ſquares goe betwixt *France* and *Spaine*, thoſe two great wheeles, that draw after

their

their motion (some more, some lesse) all the rest of the Westerne world: and when you have done, I will give you account of the state of things in *England*.

Pereg. I thought you had so abounded with domestick newes, that you had had no list or leisure to heare any forraigne; but to obey your commands, you know that I have been any time this six yeeres a wanderer up and downe; the world and truly I could not set foot on any Christian shore that was in a perfect condition of peace, but it was engag'd either in a *direct*, *auxiliary* or *collaterall* war, or standing upon it's guard in continuall apprehensions and alarmes of feare: For, since that last flaming Usher of Gods vengeance, that direfull *Comet* of the yeere 1618. appear'd in the heavens, some malignant and angry ill-aspected star hath had the predominance ever since, and by it's maligne influxes, made strange unusuall impressions upon the humors of subjects, by inciting them to such insurrections, revolts, and tumults; which caused a Jewish *Rabbi* to say lately, that it seems the grand *Turk* thrives extraordinarily in his devotions, it being one of his prime prayers to *Mahomet*, that hee should prevaile with God Almighty to continue *discentions still among Christian Princes*. And [illegible] case stands, one may say, that the [illegible] in pieces: you know well with [illegible] burning fever poore *Germany* [illegible] which hath wrought a Lethargie in some of her members, by wasting of the vitall spirits, which should diffuse themselves equally through that great body; and how shee still fostereth a cold *Northerne Guest* within her bosome, and is in an annuall feare of a worse from the *Levant*: in the *Netherlands* one shall heare the halfe-starv'd souldier murmur in every corner, and railing against his

 King,

King, and ready to mutiny for want of pay. In *France* you ſhall ſee the poore *Aſinin* Peaſan halfe weary of his life, his face being ſo pitifull ground, ever & anon with new taxes. You know there are two *Soveraigne Princes*, who have a long time wandred up and downe in exile, being outed of their owne antient Patrimoniall Territories, and little hopes yet, God wot, of reſtoring them. The world knowes how *Savoy* is become of late a kinde of Province to *France*; Nay, *Spaine*, who hath been ſo dexterous to put her neighbours together by the eares, and to foment war a farre off, to keep her owne home ſecure, is now her ſelfe in the midſt of two fearefull fires, kindled on both ſides of her by quite-revolted ſubjects, the *Portugues*, and *Catalan*, and is ſo puzzled, *ſhee cannot tell what Saint to pray unto*. The *Venetian* alſo, with the *Pope*, and all the Princes of *Italy*, are arming apace; the *Hollander* onely, *Salamander-like*, thrives in theſe flames: and as I have heard of ſome, that by a long habituall cuſtome, could feed on poyſon, and turne it to nouriſhment, ſo *Hans* alone growes fat by theſe wars.

And being weary of eating my bread in ſuch a diſtracted world abroad, and hoping to take ſome ſweet repoſe in *England*, I finde that ſhee is in as bad a caſe, if not worſe,

[illegible] pleaſed to make of the forme eſtate of *Europe* abroad, and ſince you mention that *blazing Starre*, I remember what a Noble Knight told mee ſome yeeres agoe, That the *Aſtronomers*, who lay ſentinell to watch the motion and aſpect of that *Comet*, obſerv'd, that having pointed at divers Climats, at laſt it ſeem'd to

looke

look directly on these *North-west Islands*, in which posture it spent it selfe, and so extinguish'd; as if thereby it meant to tell the world, that these *Islands* should be the Stage whereupon the last act of the Tragedie should be play'd. And how many *Scenes* have passed already, both here and in *Ireland*, we know, God wot, by too too wofull experience.

Prog. There is a saying, *When your neighbours house is on fire, by it's light you may see in what danger your owne stands*: And was *England* so blind, as not to take warning by so many fearfull combustions abroad? When I tooke my leave last of her, I left her in such a compleat condition of happinesse, both in *Court*, *Countrey*, *City* and *Sea*, that shee was the envie of all *Europe*, in so much, that that *Golden* Verse might be fitly applied to her *then Golden* times:

Mollia securæ peragebant otia Gentes.

The *Court* was never so glorious, being hansell'd every yeer almost with a new Royall of-spring; the *Gentry* no where more gallant and sportfull; the *Citizen* never more gorgeous and rich, and so abounding with treasure, bullion and buildings, that no age can parallel; *Commcere*, inward and outward was never at that height; the *customes* increasing every yeer to admiration; the narrow *Seas* were never guarded with braver Ships, nor the Navie Royall for number of vessels and magazines of all sorts of materialls was ever so well repleniished; the *Universities* had never such golden dayes: and lastly, the *Church* did so flourish, that amongst the rest of the reformed Churches of Christendome, I have heard her call'd the *Church triumphant*.

Besides, *Ireland* was arriv'd almost to the same degree of prosperity, for all the arrerages of the Crowne were paid, and not a peny sent hence for many yeeres to maintaine the

ſtanding army there, or for any other publike charge, as formerly; *Trafique* came to that monſtrous height, that in few yeares the Crowne-cuſtomes came to be five times higher. In fine, *Ireland* was brought not onely to ſubſiſt of her ſelfe, but inabled to contribute towards the filling of the *Engliſh* Exchequer, and to make ſome retribution of thoſe vaſt expences the Crown of *England* hath beene at any time theſe 400 yeeres, to reduce her to civility; her bogs were almoſt all dry'd up, and made good land, her mudde-walls turn'd apace to Bricke in divers places; ſo that in one Sommer that I fortun'd to be there, above 50. new Brick-houſes were built in one Towne. But it hath beene the fate of that Iſland, to be oftentimes neere a condition of a ſetled happineſſe, and yet to have ſome odde accident ſtill intervene to croſſe it.

In concluſion, there wanted nothing to make *England* and her united Crownes ſo exactly bleſſed, that ſhe might have aſſumed the title of one of the *Fortunate Iſlands*. Good Lord, how comes it to paſſe, that ſhee is now fallen into ſuch horrid diſtempers, and like a diſtracted body, laying hands upon her ſelfe, would thruſt the ſword of civill war into her owne bowells? I beſeech you, Sir, impart unto me the true cauſe of this change; for I know none ſo capable to doe it as your ſelfe.

Patr. Infandum Peregrine, *jubes renovare dolorem*:

Firſt, Sir, in the generall you know, that it is with the Regions upon *Earth*, as it is with thoſe of the *Ayre*, ſometimes we have a cleare azur'd skie, with ſoft gentle ventilations, and a ſweet ſerenitie throughout the whole Hemeſphere; at other times wee know the face of the heavens is over-caſt with frownes, with Frog vapors, and thicke clouds of various ſhapes, which looke like Monſters, hovering

ing up and downe, and breake at laſt into thunder and
ſulgurations, and ſo diſquiet and raiſe a kinde of warre in
the *Aereall Common-welth*. Juſt ſo in the Regions that are
diſpers'd up and downe this earthly Globe, and peopled
with men (which are but a compoſition of the *Elements*)
you have ſometimes a gentle calme of peace and quietude,
with a generall tranquillitie all the Countrey over; at
other times you have ugly miſhapen clouds of jealouſies,
feares and diſcontentments doe riſe up, which breake out
at laſt into acts of diſobedience, rebellion, and fury. And
as thoſe Aereall *Meteors* and *Monſters* above, are ingendered
of thoſe watery fogs and miſts which are drawne up out of
fennie and rotten low grounds here upon earth; ſo in the
Region of the minde, the ill vapors which aſcend to the brain
from rotten and impoſtumated hearts, from deſperate and
male-contented *humoriſts* are the cauſes of all civil commo-
tions and diſtempers in State. But they have much to an-
ſwer for in the world to come (though they eſcape it in this)
who for any private intereſt or reſpect whatſoever, either
of *Promotion*, *Vain-glory*, *revenge*, *Malice*, or *Envie*, will em-
broyle and plunge their owne native Country in any pub-
like ingagement or civill warre, by putting a partition-
wall betwixt their ſoveraigne Prince and their fellow ſub-
jects. Truely, in my opinion, theſe may be called the worſt
kinde of *Betrayer* of their Countreys: But I am too farre
tranſported from ſatisfying your requeſt in relating the
true cauſes of theſe calamities: I will now fall to worke, and
bring you to the very ſource of them.

There is a packe of perverſe people (compoſed for the
moſt part of the ſcummie and ſimpleſt ſort) multiplied
in *England*, who by a kinde of naturall inclination, are op-
poſite ſo point blanke to *Monarchy* in State, and *Hierarchy*
in

in Church, that I doubt if they were in Heaven (whither 'tis to be fear'd they runne a great hazard ever to enter, it being a rule, that *he who is rotten hearted to his King, can never be right hearted to his Creator*) I say if these men were in Heaven, they would go neare to repine at the *Monarchicall* power of God Almighty himselfe, and at the degrees of Angels, and the postures of holinesse in the Church triumphant. They call every *Crotchet* of the braine, *tendernesse of conscience:* which being well examined, is nothing else but a meere *spirit of contradiction* and disobedience (to all higher powers) which possesseth them. There are no constitutions either Ecclesiasticall or Civill can please them, but they would cast both into such and such a mould, which their crack'd braines would faine devise, yet are never able to bring to any perfection; They are ever labouring to bring Religion to the docke, to be new trimm'd, but they would take downe her fore-Caste, and scarce allow her the Kings Armes to adorne her: They are great listners after any Court news, and pricke up their eares when any thing is spoken of King, Queene, or Privie Councellour, and are alwayes ready, though upon loose trust, to take up any report whereby they may whisper in conventicles and corners, and so traduce the Government. These great *Zelots* use to looke upon themselves most commonly through multiplying glasses, which make them appeare to be such huge *Santons*, that it renders them not onely uncharitable in their opinions of others, but Luciferian-like proud in their owne conceit, in somuch that they seeme to scorne all the world besides, beleeving that they are the onely elect whose soules worke according to the motion of the Spirit: that they are the true Children of promise, *whose faces*

alone

alwe looke towards Heaven; They are more pleased with some new reach or fancy, (that may puzzle the *periera-tium*) than a Frenchman is with some new fashion in cloathing: They are neareſt to the nature of the Jew of any people upon earth, and will converſe with him ſooner than with ſome ſort of Chriſtians; And as in their phariſaicall *Diſpoſition* they ſymboliſe with the *Iewe*, ſo in ſome of their *poſitions* they jumpe pat with the *Ieſuit*: for though they are both in the extremes, and as contrary one to the other, as the ſcales of a diameter, yet their opinions and practiſes are concentrique to depreſſe regall power; Both of them *would binde their Kings in Chaines, and the Nobles in links of Iron*; They both deny all *paſſive obedience*, & as the one would have the morter of the Temple temperd with blood, ſo the other would beat Religion into the braine with the poleaxe. Their greateſt maſter-piece of policy is to forge counterfeit newes, and to divulge and diſperſe it as far as they can, to amuſe the world, for the advancement of their deſignes, and ſtrengthning their party: But the *Ieſuit* doth it more cunningly and modeſtly, for hee fetcheth his newes from farre, ſo that before the falſhood of it can bee contrould, his worke is commonly done, and the newes forgotten; But theſe later *polititians* uſe to raiſe lies hard by home, ſo that the groſſeneſſe and palpableneſſe of them is preſently diſcovered. Beſides, to avoyd the extremes of the other, theſe *later* ſeeme to fall into flat prophaneſſe, for they may bee called a kinde of enemies to the very *Name*, *Croſſe*, and *Church* of Chriſt. Touching the firſt, They repine at any reverence to be done unto it, though ſpontaneous, not coercive. For the ſecond, which was held from the beginning to be the *badge* and *Banner* of a Chriſtian, they cry it up to be the *marke of the beaſt*; And for

 the

the laſt, they would have it to be neither *beautifull*, *holy*, nor *amiable*, which are the three maine properties which God requires in his houſe. To conclude, when any comes to bee ſeaſon'd with this ſower leaven, hee ſeemes to degenerate preſently from the nature and garb of a gentleman, and fals to be of a ſordid and low diſpoſition, narrow hearted, and cloſe handed; to be timerous, cunning and jealous, and farre from the common freedome, and ſweetneſſe of morall ſociety, and from all generous and loyall thoughts towards his King and Country.

Theſe, Theſe have bin the chiefeſt machinators, and engeneers of theſe unhappy diviſions, who viperlike have torn the entrailes of their owne mother their deare Country: But there were other externe concurrent cauſes, and to finde them out, I muſt looke *Northward*, for there the cloud began to condenſe firſt;

You know Sir, the *Scot's nation* were ever uſed to have their King perſonally reſident amongſt them; and though his late Majeſty by reaſon of his *age*, *bounty*, and *long breeding* there, with other advantages, drew ſuch extraordinary reſpect from them, that they continued in good conformity: yet ſince his death, they have beene overheard to mutter at the *remotenesſe* and abſence of their King, and that they ſhould become now a kinde of *province* by reaſon of ſuch a diſtance: ſome of their Nobles and gentry found not at the Engliſh Court, nor at his Majeſties Coronation in Edenburgh that *Countenance*, *familiarity*, *benefit* and *honours* which haply they expected, and 'tis well knowne who he was, that having beene denied to be *lorded*, tooke a pet, and went diſcontented to his country, hoping that ſome title added to the wealth he had got abroad, ſhould have purchaſed him more reſpect. Theſe

diſcontented

discontented parties tamperd with the mercenary preachers up and downe Scotland, to obtrude to the people what doctrines they put into their mouthes, so that the pulpits every where rung of nothing but of invectives against certaine obliquities and Solæcismes (and I cannot tell what) in government, and many glances they had upon the *English* Church: yet all this while there was not matter enough for an insurrection, nor to dispose the peoples hearts to a mutiny, untill by the policy (as some affirmed) of the said *discontented party*, the English *Lyturgie* was sent thither: this by the incitement of those firey *pulpiteers*, was cryed up to bee the greatest Idoll that possibly could be brought into their *Kerke*, insomuch that when it was first offer'd to be read, the women and baser sort of mechaniks threw stooles and stones at the Bishops heads, and were ready to tear them in peeces: And here began the storme. His Majesty having notice hereof, sent a most gracious proclamation, signifying, that whereas he had recommended that *Booke* to be practis'd amongst them, wherein he himselfe served God Almighty twice a day, he did it out of a pious endeavour to breed an *uniformity* of publike Divine service in all his dominions, specially in that his *native* Kingdome. But since it had produced such dangerous effects, he was contented to revoke it absolutely; for it was never his purpose to *presse* the practise of the said booke upon the consciences of any, he did onely *commend*, not absolutely *command* the use of it; Therefore he exhorted and required that every one unto whom it had given any scandall, should returne to his pristine obedience, and serve God as formerly, offering herewith a gracious pardon, and to passe an Act of *Amnestia* for an abolition of all faults passed.

Per. and would not this suffice? In naturall motions we finde that the cause being taken away, the effect ceaseth, and will not this hold in civill Actions?

Pat. No, this would not ſerve the turne, but there was a further reach in it, and for an inch to take an ell: you know the *Scots* ſince their *ſingle* Lion came to quarter with our *three*, are much elevated in their ſpirits, more reſpected, emploi-ed and truſted abroad, and heightned in their reſolutions and aimes, and will queſtionleſſe be dayly more and more. You have heard of a mine that reach'd from our exchequer to *Edenburgh*. And I beleeve you have not forgot *Boccalinies* balance, that was ſhewed us in *Italie*, wherein *Lorenzo de Medici* weighed all the ſtates of Chriſtendome, and throwing in *England* amongſt the reſt, you know how much he made her to weigh leſſe by this addition. The former *Proclamation* I ſay, and *Pardon* would not ſuffice, but they took opportunity to fiſh in thoſe troubled waters, and vent their ſpleen further, by an utter extirpation of *Epiſcopacy*, and by trampling the *mitre* under their feet, hoping *to have ſome of the birds plumes, being pluckt, to feather their owne neſts*; And they brought their worke about. Good Lord, what a deale of dirt was preſently thrown into the *Biſhops* faces by every Rurall pettie Clerke! what infamous ballads were ſung, what a thicke clowd of Epidemicall hatred hung ſuddenly over them, ſo far, that a dog with blacke and white ſpots was called a *Biſhop* amongſt them up and downe the ſtreets.

The chiefeſt contrivers of this uproare, finding their deſigne to go on ſo well, and perceiving the whole Country ſo eagerly bent againſt *Biſhops*, (and what artifices and ſuggeſtions were us'd to render them ſo odious is incredible) but finding withall his Majeſtie unwilling to alter the government his father (of ſo freſh and famous memory) had left him, and to which he had been ſworn at his Coronation, they put themſelves in armes, and rais'd forces to beat down the *mitre*, with the *ſword*, if the *ſcepter* would not do it. To the frontiers they came with a great Army, (not halfe ſo great as was bruted) pretending they came as Petitioners

ners (though they brought their petition upon the pikes point.) Some of the great ones about the King grew cold in the action: And what a pacification was then ſhuffled up, and how a Parliament was called thereupon in *Scotland*, with other paſſages, is a fitter ſubject for a ſtory then a diſcourſe.

Per. I could have wiſh'd two things, that either his Majeſty had given them battaile *then*, having the flower of his Nobility and Gentry with him, who I underſtood came with all cheerfulneſſe and promptitude to attend him, or elſe that after the ſayd pacification, his Majeſtie had ſhaken off all jealouſies, and with a royall freedome and a commanding confidence gone amongſt them to hancell their new Parliament Houſe at *Edenburgh*; for it is probable, it had averted thoſe ſhowers and cataracts of miſeries which have fallen upon us ſince; but I pray Sir, proceed.

Pat. As they ſay, *there is no winde but blowes ſome-body good*, ſo it was thought, this Northerne cloud did *England* ſome advantage, for a Parliament was ſummond hereupon: a Parliament doe I call it? it was rather an *Embryo* of a Parliament, an *Ephemeran* of 20 dayes. In this ſitting his Majeſtie declared unto both Houſes the indignities he had received by his Scotch Subjects, and therefore propos'd a ſupply to be made of twelve ſubſidies to ſuppreſſe that Rebellion; and in lieu thereof he was willing to forbeare and utterly to aboliſh the Ship-money, which he had reaſon to thinke legall at firſt, being adviſed thereunto by *Noy* his Attorney Generall, who had ſuch a mighty repute in the law; yet he would not reſt there, but he adviſed further with his *learned Councell*, who concurred in opinion with *Noy*; Nor would he reſt there alſo, but he had the approbation of all the *Iudges ſingly*, and afterwards of the Major part of all the twelve, *jointly* upon a demurre. This was enough to induce his conſcience to hold it legall all this while; It was clearly proved that the moneyes levied this way, were em-

ployed to no other but the intended ſervice, *the garding of the narrow Seas*; and not onely for that, but to preſerve his right of Dominion in them, being the faireſt flower of his Crowne, which was not onely diſcourſed of abroad, but began to be queſtioned: And touching danger, how could *England* be but in apparant dangers? conſidering how all her next neighbours were in actuall hoſtility, which made huge fleets of men of warre, both *French*, *Dunkerkers*, *Hamburgers* and *Hollanders* to ſaile ever and anon in her *Channells*, and hard before her royall *Chambers*: nor came there one penny of that publike contribution to his private coffers, but hee added much of his owne demeanes for the maintenance of a royall fleet every ſommer: yet he was ready to paſſe any Bill for the utter aboliſhing of the ſayd *Ship-mony*, and for redreſſing of any other grievances, provided they would enable him to ſuppreſſe this *Scots* Rebellion: ſome ſay the Houſe was inclinable to comply with his Majeſties demands, but (as the ill ſpirit would have it) that Parliament was ſuddenly broke up, and I would that they who gave that Counſell had been then in *Arabia*, or beyond the Line, in their way to *Madagaſcar*, who nevertheleſſe have got to be in high requeſt with this preſent Parliament.

His Majeſte being reduced to theſe ſtreights, and reſenting ſtill the inſolence of the Scot, propoſed the buſineſſe to his Privy Councell, who ſuddenly made up a conſiderable and moſt noble ſumme for his preſent ſupply, whereunto divers of his domeſtick ſervants and officers did contribute. Amongſt others who were active herein, the Earle of *Strafford* beſtird himſelfe notably, and having got a Parliament to be call'd in *Ireland*, he went over, and with incredible celeritie raiſed 8000. men, who procured money of the Parliament to maintaine them, and got over thoſe angry Seas againe in the compaſſe of leſſe then ſixe weeks. You may inferre hence to what an exact uncontrollable obedience he had

had reduced that Kingdome, as to bring about so great a work with such a suddennesse and facilitie.

An armie was also raised here, which marched to the North, and there fed upon the Kings pay a whole Summer. The *Scot* was not idle all this while; but having punctuall intelligence of every thing that passed at Court, as farre as what was debated in the Cabinet Counsel, and spoken in the bed-chamber, (and herein amongst many others, he had infinite advantage of us) He armed also, and preferring to make *England* the stage of the warre, rather then his owne countrey, and to invade rather then to be invaded, Hee got over the *Tweed*, and found the passage open, and as it were made for him all the way till hee came to the *Tine*, and though there was a considerable army of horse and foot at *Newcastle*, yet they never offered so much as to face him all the while. At *Newburgh* indeed there was a small skirmish; but the *English* foot would not fight, so *Newcastle* gates flew open to the *Scot* without any resistance at all, where it is thought he had more friends then foes, and who were their friends besides for this invasion, I hope *Time*, and the *Tribunall* of Justice will one day discover.

His Majesty being then at *York*, summoned all his Nobles to appeare, to advise with them in this exigence: Commissioners were appointed on both sides, who met at *Rippon*, and how the hearts and courage of some of the *English* Barons did boile within them, to be brought to so disadvantagious a Treatie with the *Scot*, you may well imagine. So the Treatie began, which the *Scot* would not conforme himselfe unto, unlesse he were made first *Rectus in Curia*, and the Proclamation wherein he was declared Traitour, revoked; alledging it would be dishonorable for his Majesty to treat with rebels. This treaty was adjourned to *London*, where this present Parliament was summoned (which was one of the chiefest errands of the *Scot*, as some think. And thus farre

by

by theſe ſad and ſhort degrees, have I faithfully led you along to know the true *Originals* of our calamities.

Pereg. Truely Sir, I muſt tell you, that to my knowledge theſe unhappy traverſes with *Scotland*, have made the *Engliſh* ſuffer abroad very much in point of Nationall honour; Therefore I wonder much that all this while there is none ſet a work to make a ſolid Apologie for *England* in ſome communicable language, (either in *French* or *Latin*) to rectifie the world in the truth of the thing, and to vindicate her, how ſhe was bought and ſold in this Expedition, conſidering what a partie the *Scot* had here, and how his comming in, was rather an *Invitation*, then an *Invaſion*, and I beleeve if it had been in many parts of the world beſides, ſome of the Commanders had gone to the pot.

Patr. It is the practiſe of ſome *States* I know, to make ſacrifice of ſome eminent miniſter, for *publik miſtakes:* but to follow the thred of my Diſcourſe. The Parliament being ſate, His Majeſtie told them, That hee was reſolved to caſt himſelfe wholly upon the affection and fidelitie of his people, whereof they were the Repreſentative bodie: Therefore hee wiſhed them to go roundly on to cloſe up the ruptures that were made by this infortunate warre, and that the two armies, one domeſtick, the other forreign, which were gnawing the very bowels of the kingdome, might bee diſmiſſed. Touching grievances of any kinde (and what State was there ever ſo pure, but ſome corruption might creep into it?) He was very ready to redreſſe them: concerning the *Ship-money*, hee was willing to paſſe a Bill for the utter abolition of it, and to eſtabliſh the propertie of the ſubject; therefore he wiſhed them not to ſpend too much time about that. And for *Monopolies*, he deſired to have a liſt of them, and he would damme them all in one Proclamation: Touching ill *Counſellours*, either in *Weſtminſter Hall*, or *White Hall*, either in *Church* or *State*, hee was reſolved

vail to protect none, Therefore hee wished that all jealousies and misunderstandings might vanish: This, with sundry other straines of Princely grace he delivered unto them, but withall he told them, that they should be very cautious how they shooke the frame of Government to farre, in regard it was like a *Watch, which being put asunder, can never be made up againe, if the least pin be left out.*

So there were great hopes of a calme, after that cold Northern storme, and that we should bee suddenly rid of the *sun*, but that was least intended, untill some designes were brought about. The Earle of *Strafford*, the *Archbishop* of *Canterbury*, the *Judges*, and divers *Monopolists* are clapt up, and you know who tooke a timely *flight* to the other side of the Sea, And in lieu of these, the *Bishop of Lincolne* is enlarged, *Bastwick*, *Burton*, and *Prynn* are brought into *London* with a kinde of *Hosanna*. His Majestie gave way to all this, and to comply further with them, hee tooke as it were into his bosome, I meane, he admitted to his Privie Councell those Parliament Lords, who were held the greatest Zelots amongst them, that they might be witnesses of his secret'st actions, and to one of them he gave one of the considerablest Offices of the Kingdome, by the resignation of another most deserving *Lord*, vpon whom they could never fasten the least misdemeanour; yet this great new *Officer* will come neither to the same Oratorie, Chappell, or Church, to joyne in prayer with his Royall Master, nor communicate with him in any publike exercise of devotion: and may not this be called a true *Recusancie?* To another he gave one of the prime and most *reposefull Offices* about his owne Person at Court, and thereby he might be said to have given a *staffe* to beat himselfe. Moreover, partly to give his Subjects an Evidence how firmely he was rooted in his *Religion*, and how much hee desired the strengthning of it abroad; The treatie of marriage went on twixt his *eldest daughter*,

and the young Prince of *Orenge*. Hereunto may be added as a ſpeciall argument of compliance and grace, the paſſing of the Bill for a *Triennial* Parliament, and laſtly (which is the greateſt Evidence that poſſibly can be imagined, of that reall truſt and confidence he repoſed in them) hee paſſed the Act of Continuance.

Per. Touching the Trienniall Parliament, there may come ſome wholeſome fruit out of it, for it will keepe all Officers in awe, and excite the Nobilitie, and young Gentrie of the Kingdome to ſtudie, and underſtand the Government of the land, and be able to ſit and ſerve their countrey in this great Senate: But for this Act of Continuance I underſtand it not; *Parliaments are good Phiſick, but ill meat*, They ſay abroad that *England* is turned hereby from a *Monarchy* to a *Democracy*, to a perpetuall kinde of *Dictatorſhip*, and whereas in former times there was a *Heptarchy* of ſeven Kings in her, They ſay now ſhe hath ſeventie times ſeven. But in lieu of theſe uuparallell'd Acts of *grace* and *truſt* to the Parliament, what did the Parliament for the King all this while?

Patr. They promiſed, ſpecially upon the paſſing of the laſt Act, *That they would make him the moſt glorious, the beſt beloved, and richeſt King that ever reigned in England:* and this they did with deepe proteſtings and aſſeverations. But there intervened an ill-fauvoured accident which did much hurt, *viz.* A *Diſcourſe* (for truely I think it was no more) which ſome greene heads held to bring up the Northern Armie, to check the Puritan partie, and the rabble of the citie: This kept a mightie noiſe, and you know who fled upon it, and much uſe was made of it to make that cloud of jealouſie which was but of the breadth of a hand before, to appear as big as a mountaine. Yet his Majeſtie continued ſtill in paſſing Acts of grace, and complying with them in every thing. Hee put over unto them the Earle of

Strafford.

Strafford, who after a long costly triall (wherein he carried himselfe with as much acuteneſſe, dexteritie and eloquence, as humane braine could be capable of for his defence) hee was condemned to the Scaffold, and ſo made a ſacrifice to the *Scot*, who ſtayed chiefly for his head, which beſides thoſe vaſt ſummes of money, was given him to boot.

Per. Touching the Earle of Strafford, 'tis true he was full of ability, elocution and confidence, and underſtood the lawes of England as well as any, yet there were two things, I heard, wherein his wiſedome was queſtioned; firſt that having a charge ready againſt his chiefeſt accuſers, yet he ſufferd them to have the priority of ſute, which if he had got he had thereby made them parties, and ſo incapable to bee produced againſt him: Secondly, that during the time of his tryall, he applyed not himſelfe with that compliance to his *Jury* as well as to his *Judges*, for he was obſerved to comply onely with the Lords, and not with the Houſe of Commons.

Pa. Howſoever, as ſome ſay, his death was reſolved upon, (*ſi non per viam Iuſtitiæ, ſaltem per viam expedientiæ*) which appears in regard the proceedings againſt him are by a clauſe in the Act not to be produced for a leading caſe or example to future ages and inferiour Courts. I bluſh to tell you how much the rabble of the City thirſted after his blood, how they were ſufferd to ſtrut up and down the ſtreets before the royall Court, and the Parliament it ſelfe, with impunity; They cried out, that if the *Common* Law fail'd, *club* law ſhould knocke him downe, and their inſolency came to that height, that the names of thoſe Lords that would not doome him to death, ſhould be given them to fixe upon poſts up and downe; And this was the firſt tumult that happened this Parliament, whereof ſo many followed after their example, being not onely conniv'd at, but backed by authoritie, for there were prohibitions ſent from

the Parliament, to hinder all processe against some of them. These *Myrmidons*, as they termed themselves, were ready at a watchword, so that one might say there was a kinde of discipline in disorder.

Per. Were there any troubled for delivering their votes in the Houses? I thought that freedome of opinion and speech, were one of the prime priviledges of that great Nationall Senat.

Pat. Yes, Those that were the *Minions* of the House before became now the subjects of popular malice and detraction, because against the dictamen of their consciences they would not vote the Earle of *Strafford* to death, and renounce their own judgements, & captivate it to the sense of others, yet they stood firme to their first grounds, that he was a delinquent in a high nature, and incapable ever to beare office in any of his Majesties dominions.

Per. I perceive Sir by your speeches, that one of the chiefest causes of these combustions may be imputed to the Citie of *London*, which may be called the *Metropolis* of all those evils, and I little wonder at it, for it hath beene alwaies incident to all great Townes, when they grow rich and populous, to fall into acts of insolence, and to spurne at government; where so many pots, (so many braines) are a boyling, there must needs be a great deale of froth, but let her looke to her selfe, for Majestie hath long armes, and may reach her at last. But the truth is, that *London* beares no proportion with the size of this Island, for either one should be larger, or the other lesser: *London* may be wel compared to the liver of a cramm'd Italian goose, whose fatning emacecrates the rest of the whole body, and makes it grow leane and languish, and she may be well term'd a goose now more then ever, for her feathers are pluck'd apace; but now that you have done with the Earle of *Strafford*, what is become of all the rest who were committed?

Pet. They are still in durance, and have continued so these two yeares and upward, yet are not proceeded against, nor brought to their answer to this very day, though all the Courts of Justice have been open ever since. Many hundreds more of the best sort of Subjects have been suddenly clapt up, and no cause at all mentioned in many of their commitments, and new Prisons made of purpose for them, where they may be said to be buried alive, and so forgotten as if there were no such men in the world: And how this can stand with *Magna Charta*, with the *Petition of Right* (to vindicate which, there was so much paines taken the last Parliament) let any man of a sane judgement determine. Yet one of the Judges, who hath an empeachment of high Treason still lying Dormant against him, though he be not *Reus in Curia* himselfe, is suffered to sit as Judge upon the highest tribunall of *England*, whereas *another* for a pretended misdemeanour onely is bart'd from sitting there. Others who were at first cryed up and branded ro bee the most infamous *Projectors* and *Monopolizers* of the land, are not onely got loose, but crept into favour, and made use of.

Per. Hath the house of Commons power to commit any but their owne Members without conference with the Lords? Or hath any Order or Ordinance of one of the Houses singly, or of both conjunctly, to enjoin a virtual binding power of generall obedience without the *Royall consent*?

Pet. The power of Parliament, when King, Peeres, and Commons, which is the whole Kingdome digested into one volume, is indefinite, but what either of both Houses can doe of themselves singly or joyntly without the King who is the life of the Law, I dare not determine: especially when a visible faction reignes amongst them.

——— *tantas componere lites*
non opis est nostræ ———.

But for mine owne opinion, I think it is as impossible for

them to make a Law without the King, as it was for *Paracelsus* to make a man without coition, either for abolishment of old, or establishment of new Lawes. The results of Parliament without the Royall consent, are as matches without fire; And it is an incontroulable principle, that the old Law must be our guide, till new be made; nor is any Act of the Subject justifiable, but what is warrantable by the old. But to be proceed in the true discovery of these Domestick scissures, my Lord of *Strafford* being gone, wee hop'd faire weather would follow, (He who was the cause of the tempest, being throwne overboard) but unluckie mists of jealousie grew thicker and thicker; Yet the *Scots* were dismist, having had Fidlers fare, meat, drink, and money, for eleven long moneths together. So his Majestie went to *Scotland*, where the Parliament there, did but aske and have any thing, though it be the unquestionable prerogative of Majestie to grant or denie Petitions, and to satisfie his conscience before any Councell.

But during his sojourne there, this formidable hideous Rebellion broake out in *Ireland*, which though it may bee said to be but an old play newly reviv'd, yet the Scene was never so Tragicall and bloodie as now: for the Barbarismes that have bin committed there have bin so sanguinarie, and monstrously savage, that I thinke posteritie will hold them hyperbolicall. The *Irish* themselves affirm there concurr'd causes to kindle this fire. One, was the taking off of *Straffords* head, (who awd them more then any Deputy ever did) and that one of his Accusations should be to have used the Papists there too favourably; Secondly, the rigorous proceedings and intended courses against the Papists here in *England*. Lastly, the stopping of that *Regiment* of *Irish*, who was promised by his Majesties Royall word and letter to the King of *Spaine*, who relying upon that employment, rather then to beg, steale, or starve, turned Rebels: And that

which

which hath agravated the rebellion all this while, and highted much the spirit of the *Irish*, is the introduction of the *Scot*, whom they hate in perfection above all people els, and the designe spoken of in our *Parliament*, to make an obsolute Conquest, and Nationall Eradication of them, which hath made them to make vertue of necessitie, and to be valiant against their wills.

Per. Indeed I heard that Act of staying the *Irish* Regiment, considering how the Marquesses *de Velada*, and *Malvezzi*, and *Don Alonso de Cardenas*, who were all three Ambassadours here for the King of *Spain* at that time, having by relyance upon the sacred word & letter of a King, impresting money, and provided shipping for their transport, and been at above 10000. Crownes charges, I say this Act was very much censured abroad, to the dishonour of his Majestie, and our reproach.

Par. I am very sorry to heare it. Well Sir. His Majestie by His presence having setled *Scotland*, was at His returne to *London* received with much joy, and exultation, but though hee was brought in with a *Hosanna* at one end of the Towne, he found a *Crucifige* at the other: For at *Westminster* there was a Remonstrance fram'd, a worke of many weeks, and voted in the dead of night, when most of the moderate, and well-thoughted Members were retired to their rest, wherein with as much industry and artifice as could be, the least moat in government was exposed to publike view, from the first day of his Majesties Inauguration to that very houre: Which Remonstrance as it did no good to the Publike; but fill peoples heads with doubts, and their hearts with gall, and retarde the procedure of all businesse besides, so you may well thinke it could expect but cold entertainment with his Majestie, who hoped his great Councel according to their often deep protestations, had done something for his welcome home, that might have made him the best beloved King that ever was amongst his people. *Per.*

Per. Tis true, there is no Government upon earth, made up of men, but is subject to corruption, there is no Court of Judicature so cleane, but some cobwebs may gather in it, unlesse an Act of Parliament could be made to free and exempt men from infirmities and errour; It cannot be denied, but *Scotland* might have something to complaine of (though I thinke least of any) and so leapt first into the poole to be cur'd, and what she fish'd besides in those troubled waters 'tis too well known. *England* also no doubt might have some grievances, which his Majestie freely offered, not onely to redresse for the present, but to free her of all feares for the future, from falling into relapses of that kinde; but to redresse grievances by Armes, by plunging the whole countrey into an intestine warre, this makes the remedy worse then the malady, it is as if one would go about to cure a sick body by breaking his head, or let him blood by giving him a dash on the nose, it is as mad a tricke as his was who set the whole House a fire to roast his egs. But truly Sir, in my opinion, his Majesty at his returne from Scotland, might have justly expected some acts of compliance and gratitude from his Parliament, considering what unparalell'd acts of grace he had pass'd before.

Pat. His Majesty did not rest there, but complied further with them by condescending to an act for putting down the *Star-Chamber Court*, the *high Commission*, the Court of *honour*, nay, he was contented his owne *Privy Councell* should be regulated, and his forests bounded not according to ancient *Prerogative*, but late custome; nay further, he pass'd a Bill for the unvoting, and utter exclusion of the *Spirituall* Lords from the Parliament for ever, whereby it cannot be denied, but by the casheering of 25 votes at a clap, and by excluding the *Recusant* Lords besides (who subsist most by his grace) he did not a little enervat his own prerogative. Adde hereunto that having placed *two* worthy Gentlemen Lieute-

nants

mains of the Tower, he remov'd them both one after the o-
ther, and was content to put in one of their *Election*: And
lastly, he trusted them with his greatest strength of all,
with his *Navie Royall*, and call'd home that knowing *Knight*
who had the gard of the narrow Seas so many yeares.

Ep. Truly Sir, I never remember to have heard or read
of such notable Acts of grace and confidence from any
King: but would not all this suffice?

Pat. No, But they demanded all the Land Souldiery and
military strength of the Kingdome to be disposed of by
them, and to be put into what posture, and in what Equi-
page, and under what Commanders they pleas'd; And this
was the first thing his Majesty ever denyed them, yet he
would have granted them this also for a *limited* time, but that
would not serve the turn; Hereupon his Majesty grew a lit-
tle sencible, how they inch'd every day more and more upon
his royall prerogatives; And intending to go to his Towne
of *Hull* to see his Magazine, he was in a hostile manner kept
out, Canons mounted, Pistols cockt, and leveld at him.
But whether that *Knight* did this out of his *fidelity* to the
Parliament, or out of an apprehension of *feare* that some
about the King, being mov'd with the barbarousnesse of the
action, would have pistold him, I will not determine.

Ep. I have read of divers affronts of this kinde, that
were offerd to the *French* Kings, *Rochell* shut her gates more
than once against *Henry* the great, and for the King now re-
gnant, they did not only shut him out of many of his Towns,
but upon the gates of some of them, they writ in legible
Characters *Roy sans Foy*, *Ville sans peur*, a faithlesse King, a
fearlesse Towne. Yet in the greatest heat of those warres,
there was never any Towne refus'd to let in her King, pro-
vided he came attended onely with his owne traine, and be-
sides other people abroad, I heard the *Scot's* nation did ab-
hor that Act at *Hull*. But I pray Sir go on.

Pat. His Majesty being thus *shut out* of one Towne, he might justly suspect, that an attempt might be made to *shut him in*, in some other; Therefore he made a motion to the *Yorke-shire* Gentlemen, to have a gurd for the preservation of His Person, which was done accordingly. But I am come to forward, I must go backe and tell you how the King was driven from *Westminster*. When His Majesty was return'd from *Scotland*, he retir'd to *Hampton* Court, whence upon the Lord Maiors and the Cities humble follicitation, he came back to *White-hall* to keep his Christmas. But when the Bill against Bishops was in agitation, which busineſſe lasted neere upon ten weekes, a crue of bold sturdie mechanicks, and mariners, came from the *Citie* and ruffled before *White-hall*, and *Westminster-hall*, and would have violated the Abby of *Westminster*, so that for many nights a Court of gard was forced to be kept in the body of that Church, (the chiefest *Sanctuary* of the Kingdom.) Moreover, His Majesty having empeached some of the Members of both Houses, of high Treason, and being denied to have them delivered up, he went himselfe to the *Lower House* to demand them, assuring the *House they should have as faire and legall a triall as ever men had*. But as it pleas'd God, they were not there, but retir'd to *London* for refuge; The *Londoners* grew starke wilde thereupon, and notice being sent to all the adjacent Counties, this act of the Kings (though it wanted no precedents of former times) was aggravated in the highest degree that possibly could be. Hence you may easily inferre, what small securitie his Majesty had at *White-hall*, and what indignities he might have exposed himselfe unto, by that which had pass'd already from the Rabble, who had vilified and cried *tush* at his proclamations, and disgorg'd other rebellious speeches with impunity: therefore he retir'd to *Hampton* Court (as we read, *our Saviour withdrew himselfe once from the multitude*) thence to *Windsor* Castle, whence accompa-

conveying her Majesty, with his eldest daughter to the sea side for *Holland*, and having commanded the Prince to attend him against his return at *Greenwich*, the Prince had been surprized, and brought to *London*, had not the King come a little before. Thence he removed to *Yorke*, where he kept his Court all the Sommer.

But to returne to *London*, the very next day after their Majesties departure, the Countrey about, especially *Buckinghamshire* being incited by the Citie and Parliament, came in great swarmes, and joyning with the London mechanicks, they ruffled up and downe the streets, and kept such a racket, making the fearfull'st riot that ever I beleeve was heard of in Parliament time: so those Members which formerly were fled into the Citie, were brought to the House in a kinde of triumph, being garded by land and water in warlike manner by these Champions: After this, sundry troops of horse came from all the shires near adjoyning to the Parliament, and *Buckingham* men were the first, who while they express'd their love to their *Knight*, forgot their sworn oath to their *King*, and in stead of feathers they carried a printed *Protestation* in their hats, as the Londoners had done a little before upon the Pikes point.

Pet. This kept a foule noise beyond Sea I remember, so that upon the *Rialto in Venice*, it was sung up and downe, that a *Midsummer* Moon (though it was then *midst* of *Winter*) did raigne amongst the English, and you must thinke that it hath made the *Venetian* to shrinke in his shoulders, and to looke but ilfavourably upon us, since wee'le have none of his currans. But Sir, I heard much of that *Protestation*, I pray what was the substance of it?

Pat. It was penn'd, and enjoyn'd by the Parliament for every one to take, & it consisted of many parts, the first was, to maintain the true Protestant religion against all *Popish* innovations, which word *Popish*, (as some think) was scrued in

on purpose for a loop hole to let in any other innovation. The second was to *maintain the Prerogative & honour of the King*; then the *power and priviledge of Parliaments*; and lastly, the *propriety and Liberty of the Subject*; for the two first parts of this protestation, the people up and downe seem'd to have utterly forgotten them, and continue so still, as if their consciences had been tied onely to the *two last*, and never was there a poore people so besotted, never was reason and common sence so baffled in any part of the world.

And now will I goe to attend his Majestie at *York*, where as I told you before, being loth to part with his *Sword*, (though he had halfe parted with his *Scepter* before) by denying the Parliament an indefinite time to dispose of the *Militia*, (alleadging that as the *Word*, so the *thing* was new) Hee sends forth his Commissions of *Array* according to the old Law of *England*, which declares it to be the *undoubted right, and Royall Signorie of the King, to arme or disarme any Subject*: The *Parliament* sends out clean countermands for executing the said *Militia*; so by this clashing twixt the Commission of *Array* and the *Militia*, the first flash of this odious unnaturall war may be said to breake out. The pulse of the *Parliament* beats yet higher, they send an *Admirall* to the sea, not onely *without*, but expresly *against* the Kings speciall command. They had taken unto them a Militarie gard from the Citie for their protection, without his Majestie consent, who by the advice of the Lord *Keeper* and others, had offered them a very strong gard of Constables and other Officers to attend them; which the Laws usually allow; yet the raising of that gard in *Yorkshire* for the safegard of his Majesties person, was interpreted to be levying of warre against the Parliament, and so made a sufficient ground for them to raise an *Armie*, to appoint a *Generall*, with whom they made publike Declarations to live and die. And they assumed power to confer a new *Appella-*

sion of honour upon him, as if any could conferre *Honour* but the King! And this Army was to be maintain'd out of the mixt contribution of all sorts of people; so a great masse of money and plate, was brought into the *Guild-hall*, the Semstresse brought in her silver *Thimble*, the Chamber maid her *Bodkin*, the Cook his *Spoones*, and the Vintner his *Bowles*, and every one something to the advancement of so good a worke; as to wage warre directly against the Sacred person of their *Soveraigne*, and to put the whole country into a combustion.

Per. Surely it is impossible that a rationall Christian people should grow so simple and sottish, as to be so farre transported, without some colourable cause, therefore I pray tell me what that might be?

Pur. The cause is made specious enough, and varnished over wonderfull cunningly; *The people are made to beleeve they are in danger, and a prevention of that danger is promised, and by these plausible wayes the understanding is wrought upon; and affection to the cause is usher'd in, by aggravation of this danger, as one would draw a threed through a needles eye.* This huge Bugbeare *Danger*, was like a monster of many heads, the two chiefest were these, *That there was a plot to let in the Pope; And to cast the civill Gouernment into a French frame;* It is incredible to thinke how the Pulpits up and downe *London* did ring of this, by brainsick Lecturers, of whom some were come from *New-England*, others were pick'd out of purpose, and sent for from their owne flock in the country, to possesse, or rather to poison the hearts of the Londoners, to puzzle their intellectualls, and to intoxicate their braines by their *powerfull gifts*; It was punishable to preach of *Peace*, or of *Cæsars right*, but the common subject of the pulpit was either blasphemy against God, disobedience against the King, or incitements to sedition; Good Lord, what windy frothie stuffe came from these fanatick

braines; These *Phrenetick Nebulanes*, (for King *James* gives them no better Character in his *Basilicon Doron*, who may be said to be mad out of too much ignorance; who nevertheleſſe are come to that height of prophanes and pride, that they preſume to father all their doctrines, all their non-ſence raptures and ravings upon the holy Spirit. Not did the *Pulpit* onely help to kindle this fire, but the *Preſſe* alſo did contribute much fewell; What baſe ſcurrilous Pamphlets were cryed up and downe the ſtreets, and diſperſed in the Countrey? what palpable and horrid *lies* were daily printed? how they multiplied in every corner in ſuch plentie, that one might ſay there was a *ſuperfetation* of lies, which continue unto this day? One while the King of *Denmark* was comming over from the *Sound*: Another while the King of *France* had a huge Armie about *Calais* deſign'd for *England*: Another while there was an Armie of *Iriſh* Rebels comming over with the privity of the King: Another while a plot was cryed up and downe to burne *London*; Another while there were ſubterranean inviſible troupes muſtered under ground in *Wales*, and thouſands of Papiſts armed in *Lancaſhire*, and divers reports of this nature were daily blowne up, and though the Authors of them were worthleſſe and meane futilous perſons, yet the reports themſelves had that credit as to be entertain'd and canvas'd in the high Court of Parliament. But theſe falſe rumours produc'd one politicke effect (and it was the end indeed for which they were diſpers'd) they did atemorize, and fill the peoples hearts with *feares*, and ſo diſpoſe of them to uproars and to part with money.

Pereg. I know there be ſundry ſorts of *Feares*; there are *Conſcientious* Feares, there are *Pannik* Feares, there are *Puſillanimous* Feares, and there are *Politik* Feares. The firſt ſort of *Feare* proceeds from guilt of Conſcience, which turnes often to *Phrenzie*. The ſecond ſort of *Feare* may be call'd a

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kind of *Clymera*, 'tis ſome ſudden ſurprizall or *Conſternation* ariſing from an unexpected ſtrange accident. *Puſillanimous* Feare makes a mountaine of a mole hill, and proceeds from powrtie of ſpirit, and want of courage, and is a paſſion of abject and degenerous mindes, and may be call'd *Cowardiſe*, and this Feare is alwayes accompanied with jealouſie. *Politike feare*, is a created forg'd Feare wrought in another, to bring ſome deſigne about; And as we finde the *Aſtronomers* (the compariſon is too good) doe imagine ſuch and ſuch ſhapes and circles in the heavens, as the *Zodiak Equinoctiall*, *Colures* and *Tropiques*, with others, though there be no ſuch things really in nature, to make their concluſions good; So the *Politician* doth often deviſe and invent falſe imaginarie Feares, to make his proceedings more plauſible amongſt the ſilly vulgar, and thereby to compaſſe his ends: And as the ſun uſeth to appeare farre bigger to us in the morning then at noone, when hee is exalted to his Meridian, and the reaſon the *Philoſophers* uſe to give, is the interpoſition of the vapours which are commonly in the lower Region, through which we look upon him, (as we finde a peece of ſilver look bigger in a bucket of water then elſe where) ſo the *Politician* uſes to caſt ſtrange miſts of feare, and fogs of jealouſie before the ſimple peoples eyes, to make the danger ſeeme bigger: But truly Sir, this is one of the baſeſt kinds of policy; Nor can I beleeve there bee any ſuch *Politicians* amongſt the *Cabaliſts* of your Parliament; who pretend to be ſo buſie about Gods worke, a *Glorious Reformation*; and you know there is a good text for it, that *God needeth not the wicked man*, he ſcornes to be beholding to liers to bring about his purpoſes: But I pray Sir deale freely with me, do you imagine there was a deſigne to bring in the *Maſſe* againe?

Pur. The *Maſſe*? You may ſay there was a plot to bring in *Mahomet* as ſoon, to bring in the *Alchoran*, or *Talmud* as ſoone; For I dare pawne my ſoule, the King is as Cordiall a Pro-

a Protestant, as any that breathes under his three Crowns: which besides his publike deepe Protestations, and his constant quotidian exemplary open practise, many other convincing private reasons induce mee to beleeve, and it is in vaine to think the *Pope* can take footing here to any purpose without the Kings leave. You know as well as I Sir, that of all the Reformed Churches in Christendome, the *Lutheran* retaines most of the *Roman*, both in his positions and practise, and comes much nearer unto him then we doe, yet I have observed, that from the first day of his Reformation, to this, He is as averse, and as farre off from *Rome*, as the rigidest *Calviniſt* that is; And shall I think, because there are some humble and hansome postures, and decent vestures *revived* in our Church (for they were never *abolished*) because the Communion table stands in the East end where it ever stood since Christianity came in, in all our *Cathedralls*, which should be a rule to all inferiour Churches, which yet the Seperatist cries out to be an Innovation: because her Majestie hath a few simple Capuchins (fewer then was allowed by the Matrimoniall Capitulations) whither to retire sometimes: Because Scismatickes were proceeded against with more care, and the government of the Church borne up lately with more countenance, shall I beleeve that the *Pope* must presently come in? shall I beleeve the weaknesse of our Religion to be such, as to bee so easily shaken and overturn'd? Yet I beleeve there was a pernicious plot to introduce a new Religion, but what I pray? not *Popery*, but *Presbitry*, and with it to bring in the doctrine of *Buchanan* and *Knox* for civill government, and so to cast our Church and State into a *Scots* mould.

Per. Indeed I heard the *English* much censur'd abroad for eslaving as it were their understanding and judgements in poins of Religion to the *Scot*, whom they made Christians, and Reformed Christians first, and now for the *English* to

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run to them for a Religion, and that the *Vniformitie* should proceed from them, they having disdain'd us formerly, what a disparagement is it thinke you to the *Anglican* Church? This with other odd traverses, as the eclipsing the glory of the King, and bringing him back to a kind of minoritie, the tampering with his conscience, I will not say the straining it so farre, the depriving him of all kind of propertie, the depressing of his Regall power, wherein the honour of a nation consists, and which the *English* were us'd to uphold more then any other, for no King hath more awfull attibuts from his subjects, *as Sacred Sovereigne, gracious and most Excellent Majestie*, nor any King so often prayed for, for in your morning Lyturgie he is *five* times prayed for, whereas other Princes are mentioned but once or twice at most in their's, I say this, with interception of letters, some incivilities offered Ambassadors, and the bold lavish speeches that were spoken of the greatest Queenes in Christendome, and his Majesties late withdrawing his Royall protection from some of his Merchant-Subjects in other countreys, hath made the *English* loose much ground in point of esteeme abroad, and to be the *discourse*, I will not say the *scorne* of other people. They sticke not to say, that there is now a worse maladie fallen upon their *minds*, then fell upon their *bodies* about an Age since by the *Sweating sickneſſe*, which was peculiar onely unto them, and found them out under all Climes. Others say, there is a [illegible] amongst them, that they are turn'd to Wolves (as you know it is a common thing in *Lapland*) & that the old Adage is verified in them, *Homo homini lupus*. Nay our next neighbours give out, that the saying was never truer then now, *Rex Anglorum, Rex Diabolorum*. Nor is it a small disrepute to the *English*, that the word *Cavalier*, which is an attribute that no Prince in Christendome will disdaine, and is the common Appellation of the Nobilitie and Gentrie in most

parts of the world, is now us'd, not onely in Libels and frivilous Pamphlets, but in publike Parliamentarie Declarations, for a terme of reproach. But truely Sir, what you have related touching the *Pulpit* and the *Presse*, transformes me into wonder, and I should want Faith to beleeve it, did you not speak it upon your knowledge; but the *English* when they fall to worke upon a new humour, use to overdoe all people.

Patr. You have not yet the tith of what I could give you, you would little think that Coachmen, and Feltmakers, and Weavers were permitted to preach up and downe without controulement, and to vent their venome against the Church and State, to cry downe our *Hierarchie* and *Lyturgie*, by most base and reviling speeches.

Per. Touching your *Lyturgie*, I have heard it censur'd abroad by the rigidest *Calvinists* of *Geneva* and *Dort*, yet I never heard any other Character given of it, but that it is a most *Pious*, *Pathetick*, and perfect peece of devotion, both for the matter and forme of it, which I have been a little curious to observe. It begins with some choise passages of holy Scripture, and a previous Declaration or Monitory to excite us to the worke in hand; The first addresse wee make to God is by an humble and joynt Confession which is appliable to any conscience, and comprehends in it all kind of sins. Then followeth a pronuntiation of Gods promises and proneſſe to pardon and absolve us; We goe on to the Lords Prayer, which having bin dictated by our Saviour himself we often use, and is as *Amber* throwne in amongst our *Frankincense*, to make the Sacrifice more precious and pleasing unto God. Then wee proceed to some choice Psalms, & other portions of holy scripture taken out of the old and new testament; Then we fall to the *Symbole of faith*, whereof we make a solemn joynt confession in such a posture as shews a readineſſe & resolution in us to defend it: and so

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to the *Letany*, wherin the poor penitent peccant ſoul may be laid to breath out herſelf into the boſome of her Saviour by tender ejaculations, by panting groanes, & eviſcerated ingeminations, and there is no ſin, no temptation what ſoever that humane frailtie is ſubject unto, but youſhall finde a deliverance from it there; it is ſo full of Chriſtian charitie, that there is no condition of people, but are remembred and prayed for there. Then wee proceed by holy alternatif interlocutions (whereby wee heare our ſelves ſpeak as well as the Miniſter) to ſome effectuall ſhort prayers; becauſe in long prayers the minde is ſubject to wander, as ſome Zelots now adayes uſe to bring their Hearers into a *Wilderneſſe* by their *Prayers*, and into a *Labyrinth* by their *Sermons*. Then goe we on to the *Decalogue*, and if it be in a *Cathedrall*, there is time enough for the Hearer to examine himſelfe, while the Muſicke playes, where and when he broake any of Gods holy Commandements, and ask particular forgiveneſſe accordingly; Then after other choice portions of Scripture, and paſſages relating to our Redemption, and endearing unto us the merits of it, with a more particular Confeſſion of our *Faith*, wee are diſmiſſed with a *Benediction*: ſo that this *Lyturgie* may bee call'd an Inſtrument of many ſtrings, whereon the ſighing ſoule ſends up various notes unto heaven. It is a poſie made up of divers flowers, to make it the more fragrant in the noſtrills of God. Now touching your *Biſhops*, I never knew yet any Proteſtant Church but could be content to have them, had they meanes to maintaine the *Dignitie*, which the Churches of *France* with others have not, in regard the Reformation began firſt among the *people*, not at *Court*, as here it did in *England*: For unleſſe there be ſome Superviſers of Gods houſe, endowed with eminent authoritie to check the fond fancies, and quench the falſe fatuous fires of every private ſpirit, and unleſſe it be ſuch an authoritie that may draw unto it a holy kinde of awe and

obedience, what can be expected but confusion & *Atheisme*? You know what became of the Israelites when the wonted reverence to the *Ark*, and the *Ephod*, and the *Priest*, began to languish amongst them: For the braine of man is like a garden, which unlesse it be fenced about with a wall or hedge, is subject you know to be annoyed by all kinde of beasts which will be ready to runne into it; so the braine unlesse it be restrain'd and bounded in holy things by rules of Canonicall anthoritie, a thousand wilde opinions, and extravagant fancies will hourely rush into it: nor was there ever any field so subject to produce Cockle and Darnell, as the braine is rank and ready to bring forth tares of Scisme and Heresie of a thousand sorts, unlesse after the first culture the sickle of Authoritie be applied to grub up all such noisome weeds.

Pat. Yet this most ancient dignitie of *Bishops* is traduced and vilified by every shallow-pated pettie Clerk, and not so much out of a true zeale, as out of envie that they are not the like. And touching our *Lyturgie*, whereof you have been pleas'd to give so exact a Character, people are come to that height of impietie, that in some places it hath beene *drown'd*, in other places *burnt*, in some places *torne* in pieces to serve for the basest vses, nay it hath been preached publikely in Pulpit, *That it is a peece forg'd in the devils shop*, and yet the impious foule mouth'd *Babbler* never was so much as questioned for it. Nor did the *Church* only eccho with these blasphemies; but the *Presse* was as pregnant to produce every day some Monster either against Ecclesiasticall, or Secular government. I am asham'd to tell you how some bold Pamphleters in a discourse of a sheet or two, would presume to question, to dispute of, and determine the extent of Monarchik jurisdiction, what sturdie doubts, what saucie *Quares* they put, what odd frivolous distinctions they fram'd, That the King though hee was Gods *Anointed*, yet hee was

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ministers appointed: That he had the *commanding*, not the *disposing* power: That he was set to rule ouer, not to over-rule the people; That he was King by humane *choice*, not by divine *Charter*; That he was not King by the *Grace of God*, so much as by the suffrage of the people; That he was a *Creature and production of the Parliament*: That he had no implicit trust, nor peculiar propertie in any thing; That *populus est potior Rege*; That *Grex lege, lex est Rege potentior*; That the King was *singulis major, universis minor*, whereas a successive Monarch —— *Uno minor est Iove.* —— Sometimes they would bring instances from the Sates of *Holland*, sometimes from the Republike of *Venice*, and apply them to absolute and independant Royalties; But I finde that the discourse and inferences of these grand *Statists* were bottom'd upon foure false foundations, *viz.* That the King of whom they speake must be either a *Minor*, an *Idiot*, an insufferable Tyrant, or that the Kingdom they meane, is *Elective*; None of all which is appliable, either to our most gracious and excellently qualified King, or to this renowned Kingdome, which hath bin alwayes reputed an ancient successive Monarchy, govern'd by one supreme undeposeable and independent head, having the Dignitie, the Royall State, and power of an Imperiall Crowne, and being responsible to none but to God Almightie and his own *conscience* for his actions, and unto whom a Body Politike compacted of Prelates, Peers, and all degrees of people is naturally subject; but this is a theam of that transcendency, that it requires a serious and solid *Tractat*, rather then such a slender Discourse as this to handle.

But I pray excuse mee Sir, that I have stept aside thus from the road of my main narration; I told you before, how the clashing twixt the *Commission of Array*, and the *Militia*, put all things in disarray throughout the whole Kingdome; The Parliament as they had taken the first Militarie gard, so they began to Arme first, and was it not high time then for his Majestie to doe some thing think you? yet he essayed by all wayes imaginable to prevent a war, and to conquer by a passive fortitude, by *cunctation*, and *longanimitie*. How many overtures for an accommodation did he make? How many Proclamations of pardon? How many elaborat Declarations breathing nothing but clemencie, sweetnesse and truth did drop from his owne imperious invincible pen, which will remaine upon Record to all ages, as so many Monuments to his eternall glorie? Yet some ill-spirits stept still in, betweene his Grace, and the abused Subject,

for by the peremptorie Order of Parliament (O monstrous thing) the said Proclamations of Grace, and other his Majesties Declarations were prohibited to be read, fearing that the strength and truth of them, would have had a vertue to unblind, or rather unbewitch (*for Rebellion is as the sin of Witchcraft*) the poore besotted people? What deepe Protestations, and holy Vowes did he reiterate, that the maine of his designes, was to preserve the true Protestant Religion, the known lawes of the land, and the just priviledges of Parliament? How often did he dehort and woo the citie of *London* (his *Imperiall Chamber*) from such violent courses, so that she may be justly upbraided with the same words, as the *Prince of peace* upbraided *Ierusalem* withall: *London, London, How often would I have gathered thee, as a hen doth her chickins under her wings, yet thou wouldst not?*

How often did he descend to acknowledge the manner of demanding the one and five Members in his publike Remonstrances? and if there was an errour in the proceedings, how oft did he desire his Great Councell to direct him in a course how to goe on in the Empeachment? which they never did, but would reserve the priviledge to themselves to be judge and partie.

Per. Can your Parliament protect high Treason? I am sure the character of an Ambassadour cannot, which the late French Ambassadour (who for his time play'd his Cards more cunningly than ever Count *Gondemar* did) knew well; and therefore, as I heard some French men say, hee got letters of Revocation before his designed time: But it seemes strange to me, that the King who is the Protectour of the Law, and Fountaine of Justice, cannot have the benefit of the Law himselfe, which the meanest of his vassals can claime by right of inheritance: 'Tis strange, I say, that the Law should be a *dead* letter *to him* who is the *Life* of the Law, but that for omission of some puntillio in the forme of the Processe, the charge of High Treason should be so slightly wav'd, specially Treason of so universall a concerment, that it may be call'd a complication of many Treasons; for if in everie pettie State it be High Treason to *treat* only with any Forreine Power without the privitie of the Prince, it must needs be treason of an higher nature actually to bring them in; And hereof I could alledge you many pregnant instances, ancient and moderne, but that I do not desire to interrupt you in your relation.

Par. The Parliament, as I told you before, armed apace, it was not fitting then his Majestie should sit idle; therefore hee summons

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those Nobles and others, who had an immediate relation unto him by office or service, to attend him at York, according to their particular obligation and oath: But it seemes the Parliament assumed power to dispence with those oaths, and excuse their attendance, which dispensation prevail'd with some *(tender)* consciences; yet the great Seale posted to Court, and after it most of the Nobles of the Land, and the flower of the Gentrie, with many of the prime Members of the Commons House; so that were it not for the *locall* priviledge, the Parliament, for number of Members, might be said to be ever since about the King: These Nobles and Gentlemen resenting his Majesties case, and what practices there were on foot to alter the government both of Church and State, not only advised his Majestie to a royall war for defence of his Crowne and Dignitie, but contributed verie cheerfully, and have stood constant to the work ever since.

Per. They have good reason for it, for the securitie of the Nobilitie and Gentrie depends upon the strength of the Crowne, otherwise popular government would rush in like a torrent upon them. But surely those Nobles, and those Parliament Gentlemen and others, some of whom I understand, were reputed the wisest and best weigh'd men for experience and parts thorowout the whole Kingdome, and were cryed up in other Parliaments to be the most zealous Patriots for the proprietie and freedome of the Subject, would never have stuck so firmly to his Majestie, had they not knowne the bottome of his designes, that it was far from his thoughts to bring in the *Pope* or *French* government; for thereby they should have betrayed their own posteritie, and made their children slaves.

Pa. To my knowledge, these Nobles and Gentlemen are still the verie same as they were in former Parliaments, wherein they were so cryed up for the truest lovers of their Countrey, and best Common-wealths men; yet now they are branded, and voted to be *Seducers* and Traytors, because according to their oaths and conscience, they adhere to the King their Master and Liege-Lord, for maintenance of that religion they were baptized and bred in. Those most Orthodox and painfull Divines, which till this Parliament began, were accounted the preciset sort of Protestants, are now cryed downe for Papists, though they continue still the verie same men, both for opinions and preaching, and are no more *Papists* than I am a *Pytha-*

a *Pythagorean*. In fine, a true English Protestant is put now in the same scale with a Papist, and made Synonyma's. And truly these unhappie Schismaticks could not devise how to cast a greater infamy upon the English Protestant, than they have done of late by these monstrous imputations; they would fasten upon him such opinions which never entred into his thoughts, they would know ones heart better than himselfe, and so would be greater Kardiognosticks than God Almightie.

But to draw to a conclusion; The Parliaments Army multiplyed apace in *London*, the Kings but slowly in the North, so that when he displayed his Royall Standard at *Nottingham*, his Forces were not any thing considerable, so that if the Parliaments *Generall* had then advanced towards him from Northampton, hee had put him to a verie great strait; they encreased something at *Derby*, and *Stafford*, but when hee was come to *Shrewsbury*, the Welch-men came running downe the mountaines in such multitudes, that their example did much animate the English; so that his Army in lesse than a month that the Court continued in Shrewsbury, came to neer upon twentie thousand Horse and Foot; nor was it a small advantage to his Majesties affaires, that the *Nephew-Princes* came over so opportunely. The first encounter Prince *Rupert* had with the Parliaments Forces was at *Worcester*, where hee defeated the flower of their Cavalrie, and gave them a smart blow. At Shrewsbury his Majestie took a resolution to march with his whole Army towards *London*, but after seven dayes march he understood the Parliaments Forces were within six miles side-long of him, and so many miles hee went out of his road to find them out, and face them: Upon a Sunday morning he was himselfe betimes on Edge-Hill, where the Enemies Colours plainly appear'd in the vale before Keinton; it was past two in the after-noone before all his Infanterie could get to the bottome, who upon sight of the Enemies Colours ran as merrily downe the Hill, as if they had gone to a Morris Dance. So his Majestie himselfe being Generalissimo, gave command the great Ordnance should flye for a defiance, so the battell began, which lasted above three houres, and as some French and Dutch Commanders told mee, they never remembred to have seene a more furious fight for the time in all the German wars. Prince *Rupert* pursued the Enemies Horse like a whirl-wind neere upon three miles, and had there been day enough, when hee came back to the Infanterie,

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in all probabilitie a totall defeat had been given them: So that the same accident may be said to fall out here, as happened in that famous battell at *Lewis*, in *Henry* the thirds time, where the Prince of Wales (afterwards *Edward* the first) was so eager, and went so far (by excesse of courage) from the body of the Army in pursuance of the Londoners. His Majestie (to his deserved and never-dying glorie) comported himselfe like another *Cæsar* all the while, by riding about and encouraging the Souldiers, by exposing his person often to the reach of a Musket-bullet, and lying in the field all that bleake night in his Coach. Notwithstanding that many lying Pamphlets were purposely printed here, to make the world beleeve that he had retir'd himselfe all the time of the fight; what partiall reports were made in the Guild-Hall to the Londoners, and by what persons, I am ashamed to tell you: But that his Majestie was victorious that day (a day which I never thought to have seen in England) there be many convincing arguments to prove it; for besides the great odds of men which fell on their side, and Cannons they lost, some of their Ordnance were nayl'd by the Kings Troops the next morning after, in the verie face of their Army. Moreover, the King advanc'd forward the next day to his former road, and took Banbury presently after; but the *Parliamenteers* went backwards, and so from that day to this, his Majestie continueth Master of the field. 'Tis true, that in some places, as at *Farnham*, *Winchester*, & *Chichester*, they have prevailed since, but no considerable part of the Royall Army was there to make opposition; and I bluth to tell you, how unworthily the Law of Armes was violated in all those places.

Peri. Good Lord, how can the soules of those men that were in the Parliaments Army at *Keinton* Battell, dispense with the Oaths of Supremacie and Alleageance, besides the Protestation you speak of, they have taken to preserve the *Person*, honour, and prerogative of the King, when they thus actually bandy against his *Person*, and appeare in battell with all the engines of hostilitie against him.

Patr. I would be loth to exchange consciences with them, and boggle so with God Almightie; but these men by a new kind of *Metaphysick* have found out a way to abstract the *Person* of the King from his *Office*, to make his Soveraigntie a kind of *Platonick Idea* hovering in the aire, while they visibly attempt to assaile and destroy his Person (and *Progeny*) by small and great shot, and seek him out amongst his Life-Gard with fire, and sword; yet they give out, they

fight not only not *against* him, but for him, and that *their* army is more loyall unto him than his owne; who, they say, fight only for the name *King*, though they have his person *really* amongst them, commanding and directing: Thus they make *Him* a strange kind of *Amphibium*, they make in one instant a King and no King of the same *Individuum*; a power which the *Casuists* affirme God Almightie never assumed to himselfe, *to doe any thing that implyes a contradiction.*

Pereg. Noble Sir, you make my heart to pant within me, by the Pathetick relation you have been pleas'd to make mee of these rebellfull times; But one thing seemes to mee to be no lesse then a miracle, how his Majestie hath beene able to subsist all this while, considering the infinite advantages the averse partie hath had of him; for they have all the tenable places and townes of strength, both by land and sea; They have the *Navie Royall*, they have all the Amunition and Armes of the Crowne, they have all the Imposts and Customs, Poundage and Tonnage (which they levie contrary to their former Protestation before the Bill be pass'd) They have the Exchequer at their devotion, and all the Revenue of the King, Queene, and Prince, and lastly, they have the citie of *London*, which may be call'd a Magazin of money and men, where there is a ready supplie, and superfluitie of all things, that may feed, clothe, or make men gay to put them in heart and resolution: Truely considering all these advantages, with divers others on their side, and the disadvantages on the Kings, it turnes me into a lump of astonishment, how his Majestie could beare up all this while, and keep together so many Armies, and be still master of the Field.

Patr. I confesse Sir, it is a just subject for wonderment, and we must ascribe it principally to God Almightie, who is the Protectour of his Anointed, for his hand hath manifestly appear'd in the conduct of his affaires, Hee hath beene the Pilot, who hath sate at the helme ever since this storme began, and will doubtlesse continue to steer his course till he waft him to safe harbour againe; Adde hereunto, that his Majestie for his owne part, hath beene wonderfully stirring, and indefatigable both for his bodie and minde; And what notable things HER Majestie hath *done*, and what she hath *suffered*, is fitter for a Chronicle, then such a simple *Discourse*.

Hereunto may bee added besides, that his Majestie hath three parts of foure of the Peeres, and Prime Gentrie of the Kingdome

firm

from unto him, and they will venture hard, before they will come under a popular government and corporations, or let in *Knox* or *Calvin* to undermine this Church and State.

Peter. Truely Sir, amongst other Countreyes, I extreamly long'd to see *England*, and I am no sooner come, but I am surfetted of her already, I doubt the old Prophecie touching this Iland is come now to be verified, That the *Churchman* was, the *Lawer* is, and the *Souldier* shall be. I am afraid the *English* have seene their best dayes; for I finde a generall kinde of infatuation, a totall Eclipse of reason amongst most of them; and commonly *a generall infatuation precedes the perdition of a people*; like a fish, that putrifieth first in the head; They say abroad, *'Tis the Scots turne now to be a great nation.* Therefore I will trusse up my baggage and over againe, after I have enjoyed you some dayes, and received your commands.

Tur. Dear Sir, If you seriously resolve to crosse the Seas againe so soone, I may chance beare you company, for as you have since the short time of your sojourn here judiciously observed a national defection of reason in the people of this *Iland*, which makes *her* so active in her own ruine; so by longer experience, & by infallible Symptomes I finde a strange kinde of *Vertigo* to have seized upon her, which I feare will turne to the falling sickneſſe, or such a frenzie, that will make her to dash out her owne braines; Nor are her miseries, I feare, come yet to the full; It is the method of the Almightie, when he pleases to punish a people, to begin with *roddes*, to goe on with *Whips*, and if they will not do, he hath *Scorpions* for them: Therefore, I will breathe any where sooner then here, for what securitie or contentment can one receive in that Countrey, where *Religion* and *Iuſtice*, the two grand *Dorique* Columnes which support every *State*, are fallen downe? which makes all conditions of men, all professions and trades to go here daylie to utter ruine. The *Churchman* grows every day more despicable, as if he had no propertie in any thing, nor is there any way left him to recover his Tithe, but by costly troublesome suites. The *Civilian*, a brave learned profession, hath already made his last Will; And the *Common* Lawyers case is little better; The *Courtier* cannot get his Pension; The *Gentleman* cannot recover his rents, but either they are sequestred by a high hand of *unexampled* power, or else the poor tenant is so heavily assess'd or plundred, that he is disabled to pay them in; All kinde of *Commerce* both domestick and forrein visibly decayes, and falls more

and more, into the hands of ſtrangers (to the no ſmall diſhonour of the wiſedome of this Nation) nor can the *Tradeſman* recover his debts, Parliamentary Protections continue ſtill in ſuch numbers, ſo that it is a greater priviledge now to be a footman to the meaneſt of the Lower Houſe, then to bee of the Kings bed-Chamber: *Prentiſes* run away from their maſters, and againſt their fathers intent turne ſouldiers, and for money, which is the ſoule of trade, I beleeve ſince the beginning of this Parliament, above one halfe of the treaſure of the Kingdome is either conveyed to'ther ſide of the Sea, or buried under ground, whence it muſt be new digg'd up againe. Moreover, all things are here growne *Arbitrary* (yet that *word* took off the Earle of *Straffords* head) *Religion*, *Law*, and *Allegeance* is growne *Arbitrary*; nor dares the *Iudge* upon the Tribunall (according to his oath) do juſtice, but he is over-awed by *Ordinance*, or els the leaſt intimation of the ſenſe of the lower Houſe is ſufficient to enjoyne him the contrary, ſo that now, more then ever, it may be ſaid here, —— *Terras Auſtraea reliquit.* — *Peace* alſo hath rov'd up and downe this Iſland, and cannot get a place to lay her head on; ſhe hoped to have had entertainment in *York-ſhire*, by the agreement of the beſt Gentlemen in the Countrey; but an *Ordinance* of Parliament beat her out of doores; Then ſhe thought to reſt in *Cheſhire*, and by a ſolemne Covenant ſhe was promis'd to be preſerv'd there, the principall Agents of that Covenant having proteſted every one upon the word of a Gentleman, and as they did deſire to proſper, both themſelves, their tenants and friends, ſhould ſtrictly obſerve it; but the like *Ordinance* of Parliament battered downe that *Agreement*.

Then ſhe thought to take footing in the Weſt, and firſt in *Dorſet-ſhire*, then in *Cornwall* and *Devon-ſhire*, and by the holy tye of the bleſſed Sacrament, ſhe was promiſed to be preſerved there; but another Ordinance of Parliament is purſuing her, to diſpenſe with the Commiſſioners of the ſaid Agreement for their Oaths. Laſtly, his Majeſtie is mainly endevouring to bring her in againe thorow-out the whole Land; but the furious, phrenetique Schiſmatikes will have none of her; for as one of them (beſides a thouſand inſtances more) preach'd in one of the moſt populous Congregations about the Citie, *It were better that London ſtreets ran with blood, and that dead carkaſſes were piled up as high as the battlements of Pauls, than peace ſhould be now brought in.* And now that *Peace* is ſhut out, *Learning*

Law is upon point of deſpaire, her Colledges are become Courts of Guard, and *Mars* lieth in *Mercuries* bed. *Honour* alſo, with *her Court*, lieth in the duſt; the *Cobler* may confront the *Knight*, the *Boore* the *Baron*, and there is no judiciall way of ſatisfaction, which makes *Monarchy* feare ſhe hath no long time of abode here. *Publike Faith* alſo, though ſhe had but newly ſet up for her ſelfe, is ſuddenly become Bankrupt, and how could ſhe chooſe? for more of the Kingdomes treaſure hath been ſpent within theſe thirty months, than was ſpent in foure-ſcore yeares before; but ſhe hopes to peece up her ſelfe againe, by the ruines of the Church; but let her take heed of that, for thoſe goods have been fatall to many thouſand families in this Kingdome: yet, ſhe thinks much, that thoſe publike ſums which were given to ſuppreſſe one rebellion (in *Ireland*) ſhould be employed to maintaine another rebellion (in *England.*) And laſtly, me thinks, I ſee *Religion* in torne ragged weeds, and with ſlubber'd eyes ſitting upon *Weeping-Croſſe*, and wringing her hands, to ſee her chiefeſt Temple (*Pauls Church*) where God Almightie was us'd to be ſerv'd conſtantly thrice a day, and was the Rendezvouz, and as it were the Mother Church, ſtanding open to receive all commers and ſtrangers, to be now ſhut up, and made only a thorow-fare for Porters; to ſee thoſe ſcaffolds, the expence of ſo many thouſand pounds, to lye a rotting; to ſee her chiefeſt *lights* like to be extinguiſhed; to ſee her famous learned Divines dragg'd to priſon, and utterly depriv'd of the benefit of the Common Law, their inheritance: Me thinks, I ſay, I ſee *Religion* packing up, and preparing to leave this Iſland quite, crying out, that this is a Countrey fitter for *Atheiſts* than *Chriſtians* to live in; for God Almighty is here made the greateſt *Malignant*, in regard his Houſe is plunder'd more than any: There is no Court left to reforme hereſie, no Court to puniſh any Church Officer, & to make him attend his Cure, no Court to puniſh fornication, adulterie, or inceſt: Mee thinks I heare *Her* cry out againſt theſe her Grand *Reformers* (or *Refiners* rather) that they have put diviſion 'twixt all degrees of perſons. They have put diviſion 'twixt husband and wife, 'twixt mother and child: The ſon ſeeks his fathers bloud in open field, one brother ſeeks to cut the others throat; they have put diviſion 'twixt maſter and ſervant, 'twixt *Land-Lord* and *Tenant*; nay, they have a long time put a ſea of ſeparation 'twixt King and Queene; and they labour more and more to put diviſion 'twixt the head and the members, 'twixt his

Majeſtie and his politicall *Spouſe*, his *Kingdome*; [illegible] have plung'd one of the flourishingſt Kingdoms of *Europe* in [illegible] without end; for though a *Peace* may be plaiſter'd over for the [illegible] I feare it will be but like a fire cover'd with ashes, which will [illegible] out againe, as long as theſe fierie Schiſmatikes have any ſtren[illegible] this Iſland, ſo that all the premiſſes conſidered, if *Turke* or *Tartar*, or all the infernall ſpirits and *Cacodæmons* of hell had broke amongſt us, they could not have done poore *England* more chiefe. Sir, I pray excuſe this homely imperfect relation, I have thouſand things more to impart unto you when wee may breathe freer aire; for here we are come to that ſlaverie, that one is in danger to have his very thoughts plundred; Therefore if you please accept of my company, I will over with you by Gods help, as ſoone as it may ſtand with your conveniency, but you muſt not diſcover me to be an *Engliſhman* abroad: for ſo I may bee geer'd at and [illegible] in the ſtreets; I will go under another name, and am fixt in this reſolution, never to breathe *Engliſh* aire againe, untill the King recovers his *Scepter*, and the *People* their *Senſes*.

FINIS.